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of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yonojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimoseaceae family/, with green stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

L:Gutierrez de Pineda--270 E-6 (1947) 1950 9C13 Goajiro 9C13

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give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it: the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society. What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

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Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in

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In addition to bond servants and slaves who at any rate are still part of the Guajiro social conglomerate in their special status, there exist those outside society who have got into this situation as a consequence of breaking of the regimen for social stability, security, but who besides not having paid the indemnity required for their delicts are cast out of the community because their clan group refuses to admit any responsibility for the crime, by which act they are excluded from the community and have to flee and go into exile. This appears to have been the case with the Kreina Indians, who have already definitely disappeared, due to the exterminating expeditions that have been launched against them by all the consanguineous Guajiro groups and by whites. They were a group of Indians ostracized for delicts committed, who had no family backing and who gathered together to live by robbery and murder of other Indians and the whites who lived in the neighborhood of their hideouts in the Sierra de las Kreina. /[illegible]/

III

Prostitutes also can be classified among those of lowest feminine status, as their conduct is not in accord with the female cultural patterns for women in the community, which practically treats them as outcasts. Although they may enjoy a measure of individual prestige due to the satisfactions they give, they attract to themselves the contempt of society as they are constantly violating culture patterns. They are evaluated in two ways, but primarily are classified as despicable beings, violators of cultural patterns.

Nevertheless, during the summers, which are the periods of scarcity and misery, their conduct finds, if not approbation, at least excuse among their relatives, who see in their way of life a means of income which exists in part to supply the most basic necessities of life. Furthermore, with the change in ideas

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682 775 783 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest. It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in illness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggravate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession 682 626 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confession, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in consequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of [968] suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is continually being repeated in that place : the insults are heard again, the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

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is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

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We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

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Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the breaking of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example: a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[155 cont.]
182 626 789 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individuals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

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789 505 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influ- [177] ence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy [654] for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

975 971 981 [156] Another institution that we see directly affected by magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to [245] be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

964 775 971 626 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

579 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
●626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
689 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a "law"; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.'

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[184] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
579 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a "bad name." A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when asked for by one's aces is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us turn to a consideration of their "laws." The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is incorrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them.

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A.

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
628 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Goajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archaeological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Kuna and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archaeologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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S. Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more cows. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably executed, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. [551] [628] [689]

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchirua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, ardeuke, is one thing, and to demand compensation, nenpe, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Paalaiuas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two cows, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two strapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. [672] [682] [426] [434] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is confined in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and strapes, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being kapurpa, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to [771] birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. [742] She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "sartiso sura paura," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor [556] people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— [348]

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
587 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
(583) with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is expected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride
(583) price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally individual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to his uncle for advice. No other such cases came to the attention of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not prescribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew must observe when in each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments they have for each other. If there are other people around the nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and
604 conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
626 to conform, he would be severely criticised, not only by his uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew, but by the rest of the company.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and reverting to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a length for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this proscribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Rafael, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Calleja, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly so much as toward Calleja. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private is very much the same as in public, if he expects inheritance from his uncle, because were he to depart from the conventional, the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is thus

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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unable to punish his nephew by disinheriting him, the nephew's 604
behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection 626
that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior 428
of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly. 554

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. These three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew 604
relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Estrella and her uncle may be controlled somewhat by personal regard and affection, such appear not to exist in the relations between Carmelina and her uncle. 604

The behavior of the senior maternal uncle is uniformly the same toward all of his nieces so far as the prescribed conduct is concerned, although he may not personally feel exactly the same toward every one of them due to individual difference in character and personality.

The behavior described so far has been that of the uncle and niece in public. As to the private relations between them, the present writer was informed that the relations were no different in private than in public.

Cases in which the niece goes against her uncle's will in marriage and elopes are very infrequent in the Guajira. When they occur they are severely criticized and the girl gets the reputation of being loose. Public opinion is so strong that in all the cases except one, which came to the attention of the present writer, the couple has had to move to another community away from both her family and his. The case in which the uncle has at first been opposed to the marriage but finally consents on the insistence of the couple falls into a different category. Such a couple is not criticized and may live without fear in the community. 583 584 604 626

Summary

As regards the senior maternal uncle and senior nephew relationship: first, the nephew, at least theoretically, is the recipient of benefits, and conducts himself with extreme propriety. Regardless of the regard or affection, he may or may not have for his uncle, he behaves according to rule lest public opinion turn against him and curtail his chances for trade, marriage, etc. Toward his other uncles, there seems to be no prescribed pattern and he may behave toward them as he pleases. Second, the attitude of the uncle toward his nephew is again largely controlled by public opinion. It is true that he does not have to show such marked formality as his nephew shows toward him, but on the other hand he must do nothing detrimental to the character or respect-status of the nephew. His behavior toward 604

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had